H.H. 6

THE

KINGDOMES BRIEFE ANSWER,

TO THE LATE

DECLARATION

OF THE

House of COMMONS, *Feb.* 11. 1647.

TOUCHING

The *Reasons* of their no further *Addresses* to the KING.

Ephes. 4. 14.

We henceforth must be no more Children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of Doctrine by the slight of men, and cunning craftinesse, whereby they lie in waite to deceive.

LONDON.

Printed in the year of our Lord, 1648.

1304:01

LONDON,
Printed in the year of our Lord, 16[illegible].

The Kingdomes brief ANSWER to the late DECLARATION of the Houſe of *Commons*, *Feb.* 11. 1647.

Touching the *Reaſons* of their no further Addreſſes to the KING.

The repreſented body of the Kingdome of England *ſend greeting, to thoſe that repreſent them in the Houſe of* COMMONS.

OUr *Order* of the 11. of *February* laſt for printing and diſperſing your Declaration, containing your Reaſons of your late reſolutions of making no farther Addreſſe or Application to the KING: As it communicates your ſenſe to us, ſo it invites our Anſwer to you, eſpecially ſince we collect by that diſcourſe, That thoſe reaſons are of ſuch waight with you, That you reſolve to make them your warrant for introducing a new Government over us: Let us preface this truth to you, We would willingly argue ſo with you, as if we had learnt of *Michael* the Archangel, to *diſpute*, and yet not bring *a railing accuſation* againſt the Devil; for truly, we do Chriſtianly believe this new method you have got of writing your *Kings* Chronicles in their life time (which was never heretofore done,

but with high flatteries, as it is now done by you, with high ſlanders) is a patronizing the *ſpeaking evill of dignities*, and is a doctrine of Devils, and therefore though we find not only theſe Votes againſt the King, but others againſt all us His Subjects, That none ſhall preſume to ſpeak evill of, or cenſure your waies, And ſo by impriſoning the King, and ſhutting up our mouths, you may well ſuppoſe your Declaration is unanſwerable: Yet know, we are not ſo tame, ſo frighted by your daily executions of loyall Subjects, as there are not multitudes remaine, who for their Country (that is, their Religion and Laws, not ſoyle) dare offer themſelves your Martyrs, rather then ſhow they are ſo conquered as to have ſuch groſſe and foule Tales impoſed upon them for reaſon: This is to unman us, and not only ſhew us to neighbour Nations a captived, but a ſottiſh people.

We confeſſe you have got too many advantages to be diſputed with.

You have power in your hands, and rigor in your execution of it, and ſo like to beat many of us into an Argument.

You have all donation of Offices, Preferments, and Rewards; theſe bribes will blind the eyes and judgement of the wiſe, and with theſe, you have brought over, both Divines and Lawyers to betray their profeſſions.

Nay, you have a ſtronger tie upon many, then both theſe, for the reverence too many of us at firſt held due to Parliaments, made us without a due conſideration of the conſequence, engage our ſelves ſo in your late actions, That we dare yet ſcarce admit ſound reaſon, becauſe we ſhall judge our ſelves in what is paſt.

We dare ſay you deſire no anſwer, from thoſe that can make one: You doe well to appeal to the Multitude; but there is danger in this, for you have ſo long deceived them, that you have almoſt undeceived them.

You believe few of us are qualified to diſcern your ſophiſtry, elſe you would never promiſe us reaſon, and begin with ſuch deceitfull rhetorick, That leads your Reader to approve your reaſon before he hears it, and makes him rather queſtion you, *Why you made former addreſſes?* then *Why you reſolve to make no more?*

When

When you have thus brought him on, of your own sale, then you lay on your Keazer or blood-hound, and bid him follow the Kings foot-steps: You would perswade men by your confidence, because you ride among the Hue and Crie, you are none of the thieves.

Well, we are of the number of those that did follow your Declaration-hound, and found he soon hunted backwards, and to your dore he leads us, and opening it, made your Houses soon appear and *Aceldama*, a field of bloud; a *Golgotha*, of sculls.

In the Conclusion it will appear so, for though your next step be a painted piece, yet its but a Sepulchre, and contains rottennesse: here you say you were not so unthankfull to God (This is, *God I thank thee we are not like other men*) as to forget you never were forced to any Treaty (you forget the times, when you lost *Bristol* and *Leicester*) and you had no lesse then seven times made such application to the King, as exprest you had yeilded up, not only your wills and affections, but your judgements for obtaining a peace; And yet it never pleased the King to accept of any tender fit for you to make, nor to offer any thing fit for you to receive.

A stubborn proceeding it's acknowledged, if fully proved, and a most bold piece of impudence if false: And surely upon examination it will be soon evidenced. You herein desire us to do to You (as you say) you doe to the King, render up our wills and reasons, otherwise it became you to have desired your Reader to satisfie himself herein, by considering your Propositions, and His Majesties severall Answers and Messages. And we remember He sometimes offered them, when his succesfull Condition might have made Him say, *God I thank thee*.

You think it enough to mention your Treaty at *Uxbridge*, believing none of us have seen all those particular passages, as printed, by the King, not with deceiving Paraphrases, but as that Treaty was managed in writing, so in the words of both Commissioners. And this piece to this day lies unanswered by you, and much reflects on you.

We mention it, because we hope it wil stop the careir of any credulous person from judging his King *an unreasonable Wilful man*, as

 this

this Charge would insinuate, before he hath vouchsafe to read what he vouchsafe to publish for his satisfaction. Nay, it seems most strange to us, That his *Message* of the 12. of *May* from *Holmby*, containing so great and particular Condescentions, as likewise many former; and these three last from *Hampton Court*, and the *Isle of Wight*, should all be unexpected and conditionall answers or denialls.

And were all your Propositions of so clear a nature as were fit for Subjects to present to a Prince: And did your Brethren of *Scotland*, in all, so clearly concur with you? did they not once tel you, *They were such, as neither agreed with Conscience or Honour?* Nay, you see they would not positively ask the like for themselves, but the like, if the Kingdome of *Scotland* think fit. The most modest way they could devise, of discountenancing your irregular desires.

And for your next Charge, That the King in His lowest change of His condition when he was soly in your Dispose (as you call it) refused your Propositions at *Hampton Court*, (Ile say no more, how comes that Answer so ungratefull to some of your greatest Grandees) what doth this evidence, but the unreasonablenesse of your desire, being neither fit for a free, nor a captived King to grant? But your last four Bills are more reasonable then all.

Brutus and *Cassius*, cry, *Cæsar give us leave but to give you four mortall stabs, and we will save you, that others shall not give you thirty.* You are not ignorant these four Bills are the key to introduce you to all the Power of the Kingdome, and to exclude the King. And had he granted them, what had been the issue to Him, but to have parted with all power before He had so much as obtained private setlement? All that was promised for His Consent, was but *to stay in the Isle of Wight*, and to be sent to, and to be treated with there, for those remaining things you call scruples, (*Church*, and *Church lands*, &c.) He hath evidence, is *Conscience and Honour*. So after a Consent, His Condition might have been as miserable as now; your usurpt, become a legall authority.

Next, what had bin the condition of us His Subjects? Why? He had granted more power over us to you, then He had in Himself,

For

For the ſword and power of raiſing money were ever diſtinct: the one was the Kings Greatneſſe; the other, the peoples Liberty. And when theſe are joyned (though now by awe you made us ſubmit to it) all freedom (as now is) is loſt, *Quis cuſtodit cuſtodem?* who ſhall keep the keeper? There needs (as there was) to be continued a check upon him, that hath the liberty to make war and puniſh, elſe Dominion and Revenge are ſo ſweet things to mans nature, we ſhal have the Sword ſeldome in the ſcabbard. If you derive your power from us the people (till you acknowledge the Kings power, and bring back the ſtream into the ancient channell) while you keep the wanton power of drawing the ſword in your hands, Pray know, it is fit the appeal lie to us, when to open the purſe.

Give us leave now, to make a long digreſſion. Hath not this Nation ever been Governed by Kings? was it ever more happy then ſince it was govern'd by One, not many Kings (we mean not many in relation to you, but the Heptarchy, the 7 Kings, long before the time we beſt remember *William* the firſt) hath it not continued thus a Monarchy about 600 years, and all this time to the firſt day of this Parliament, we accounted, a free ingenuous warlike people? Were we ever more formidable abroad, or rich, plentifull, and peacefull at home then in this Kings raigne? And what was the foundation of all this, but the good old Conſtitution of Monarchicall government? Did not this King in ſatisfaction of ſome (well to be borne) irregularities of His Government, part with ſo many flowers of the Crown in divers Acts, this Parliament, that there was never a people ſo really made free by a Kings bounty, and ſo ſoon againe inſlaved, by their fellow Subjects fear, We may rather ſay, deſigne; Nay, the preſent deſigne of this Declaration, *We will have no more Addreſſes made to our King, but we will ſettle the preſent Government as may beſt ſtand with the peace and happineſſe of this Kingdome*: that is, ſo as will beſt ſecure us in our obtained greatneſſe.

Could we be a free people and renowned before this Kings raigne? and in this Kings raigne, is there now a neceſſity of a new forme of Government? when our Charter of Liberty was a Great Charter before, and is now the greateſt ever Engliſh Subjects

jects had. We pray God, the present fate of *London*, be not an Embleme of the destiny of the whole Nation, That having as large a Charter as any City in *Europe*; nay, as many Hanse Towns, that wrote themselves little Republicks, could acknowledge nothing they held from their Princes, but aspire by the wealth they had got under them, to hang that sword at their own girdle which was their Kings, but permitted by him to be carried before them: And thus, striving for a distinct *Militia* from the whole Kingdome, be the first subdued place by their own Armies.

In a word then, (for I have long digrest) The King required from the first dispute to this day, *no new Prerogative or accesse of Revenue*: nay, *He granted great inlargement of Liberty to the Subject, and restrictions to Himself*. But because He would not wholly divest Himself and posterity of Regall power, you have made this Warre.

And now judge (to use your own words) *who hath occasioned such sighs and groanes of His Subjects, such effusion of bloud, as cruelty it self would pity*? Hath not the hound led us to your dores; by this scent?

That this your Kingdome had so good Lawes ever since the Grand Charter, that to make a War to encrease the Subjects Liberty was unnecessarily to spill their bloud.

That this King did voluntarily and cheerfully encrease the liberties of this Charter, and offer all security to make it good in His, and His Posterities Raigne.

Therefore those that were not content therewith (and not He) were the occasion of all the sighs, groans, and effusion of bloud through this Kingdome.

We were much tempted to have made an Epitome of the proceedings of this Parliament to this day: And of the late deep and wicked policies of the Army to deceive both King and people: but to avoid tediousnesse, we'l decline that; Nevertheless, because the foundation bears the Superstructure, and the King must be made the occasion of all our misery; examine this, one way more.

We will begin with your first firebrand Declaration which you set

ſet forth after you had received ſo many good Acts from the King, that when you therein recapitulate them, you are forced to ſay, *by His Majeſties grace you had obtained not only remedy of former grievances*, but in the Triennial Bill, *a ſource and fountain againſt all future*.

Could any thing (for he foreſaw and argued the ſad conſequence of it, if ill uſed) ſhow more clearly how His Majeſty wholly caſt Himſelf upon you, then the Act for not diſſolving this Parliament without your own Conſents? When theſe benefits had wrought with all the people in generall, and with that auntient loyall, but now deſpicable City of *London* (rich in nothing but that it hath bought good pennyworths of oppreſſion, bloud, and ſacriledge, which their ſtomacks already keckell with, and are regorging) that the King lookt lovely in the peoples eyes, how ſoon did the envious man ſow his tares! For no ſooner had *London* magnificently entertained her gratious Prince, but her *Common Councell* muſt be changed, her old *Major* and *Aldermen* quarrelled, at laſt impriſoned. Every day produces new invented Plots, &c. This neceſſitates the King to ſhew there was a deſigne to ſubvert Government, *and He charges the five Members*: How they were upheld, He driven away, is notorious. In this exigent, what doth the King (for all we have ſaid is but to make way to this *Meſſage*) *Jan.* 1641. *He deſires His two Houſes they would* (to prevent the miſchiefs he foreſaw) *ſet down all their deſires together, that the bounds of His Prerogative might be known, their Priviledges, and His peoples Liberty. And when He ſaw all together, they ſhould find He would out-doe all His Predeceſſors.* The entertainment of this Meſſage, is, *It's voted a breach of Priviledge.* To make ſhort, this occaſions Him to retire to *Yorke*; There, leſt Sir *John Hotham* (*whoſe death is remarkable*) from *Hull* ſhould ſurprize Him, having denied Him entrance into that Towne, He takes a Guard to His Perſon of the ordinary Trained Bands, as the Houſes had at *Weſtminſter*: Hereupon it being Voted, *the King intended to make War upon His Parliament*; He makes the numerous Nobility then about Him, give teſtimony *all His Counſels tended to Peace.* This ſatisfies not, but His Towns and Magazines of Arms being ſeized on before; there is Orders for leavying Horſes,

(bringing in the news of War) Money, Plate. Lo: *Eſſex* (whoſe end was obſervable) Voted Generall. Lo: *Willoughby* of *Parham* (who hath time now to conſider) raiſes the Traine bands in *Lincolnſhire*, and Lord *Paget* by Mr. *Hambden*, (who cut the thread of his own life hereby) thoſe of *Buckingham*, *&c.* And now the Houſes had more great Ordnances then the King Muskets, and more pounds then He had pence, yet home-loyalty and ſome forrain friends inabled Him, in a mean ſort God knows, to march to *Nottingham*. From thence (for all this is but to bring in this ſecond *Meſſage*) He ſends up Lo: *Southampton* and *Dorſet*, *&c.* offering to recall all Proclamations, to pull downe His Standard, &c. if you would recall your Votes, &c. againſt ſuch of His Party as you had proclaimed Traytors. Doe not your hearts tremble to call theſe particulars to mind?

That when you were intruſted to ſettle His Prerogative, your Priviledges, our Liberties; you refuſed this way of accommodation, upon pretence (for it was no more) it ſtood not with your Priviledges thus to be treated with.

That ſix moneths after, when you ſaw the ſword drawing, would then upon a *puntillio* of your greatneſſe (when the conteſt was betwixt your King and you) refuſe to doe that towards the Kings adherents, that he offered towards you and your Abettors.

The Concluſion therefore is, your Pride, not His Majeſties Cruelty, made this War. His clemency would have prevented, what your heigths have drawn upon us. Thus you, the occaſion of all our miſeries, that are, or ſhall be. And all this for the then concealed, but now declared deſigne, *We will make no Addreſſe to the King, but ſettle the preſent Government, &c.* Herein, *the Lord turne the counſell of Achitophel into fooliſhneſſe.*

Now this being, we hope, fully proved, We will go on to your other Charge, that of *Brainceford*.

When the King for neceſſity, and you for wantonneſſe, at *Edge-hill* met; the ſword then made it ſelf drunk, with that it had at *Worceſter*, but taſted. Here Lo: *Eſſex*, felt the Kings forces reſolution, rather then ſtrength (comparing numbers with his Army) which before he contemned, for he was truly worſted, though

though the King ſeaſonably to make advantage of it, ſcarce knew he had the better. The King from hence in taking in of *Banbury*, in ſetling a Garriſon and place of reſidence for His Councell and Courts at *Oxford*; and in taking in of *Reading*, ſo poorly quitted by Maſter *Henry Martin*, that now ſo valiantly raiſes againſt him; ſpent ſome time, that gave the Earle of *Eſſex* opportunity to get to *London*. The King marches after, and at *Colbrook* is met by the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Pembroke*, with Commiſſion to deſire Him to appoint ſome place for Commiſſioners of both Houſes to attend Him with Propoſitions for a peace. His Majeſty, as is ſaid in your Declaration, named *Windſor* His own Houſe, (but then held a Garriſon by *Ven.* that known Citizen) and promiſed to abide thereabouts till they returned to Him.

And here comes in the high crime, *That preſently that night He marched towards London, &c.* which makes a plauſible ſhew till it be remembred, That you had given no Commiſſion, in a Meſſage to a King then in his march, far from his own Garriſons, to propoſe a Ceſſation of Armes: And when the King reſolved of ſtaying at *Colbrook*, you had drawn no men out of *London!* which you did whilſt your Commiſſioners were with Him; and thus by having *Windſor* behind Him, *Kingſton* on the one hand, *Acton* on the other, and *Brainceford* in a right line: had He ſtayed the return of your Commiſſioners, He had been hemned in on all ſides, and ſo His retreat might have been full of fear and ſhame, which was full of honour and victory; how ill His retreat deſerves thoſe phraſes of yours, His two daies reſidence at *Hampton Court* ſhow, within three mile of your Army, when He had twenty more to march to *Reading*. If you will not tell truth in matters of fact, what belief ſhall we give you in other things? And for the guilt of the bloud you charge on Him (if this that is ſaid be not enough to wipe it away) remember the *Meſſage* He ſent you by His ſervant Mr. *White*, expreſſing how you had neceſſitated His advance, how He would retire, if you would aſſigne Him *Windſor* to Treat in, but how you uſed Meſſenger and Meſſage is well known.

While the King was in Treaty with you, He ſent up Commiſſions to ſurprize *London*. Grant it. Where a Ceſſation of Armes

and Acts of hoſtility are not agreed on; Is it not practiced all the world out, to treat, fight, and ſurprize? We have too dearly bought our experience, but now, ſuch ſhadowes of reaſon cannot ſatisfie us.

The King was forc'd by his mungrell Parliament, as you ſay he calls them, (though its knowne he meant Lo: *Savile*, &c. for thoſe of his Commons at *Oxford*, were not in the firſt Conſultation of it) to call you a Parliament. This is likely, yet we have heard the King never ſaid, this Parliament was diſſolved. Nay Lo: *Savile* (meant by the word *Mungrell*, for we feare he was a mungrell ſervant or friend) muſt confeſſe the King ever profeſt, he would obſerve this Act as it was for the benefit of his Subjects in generall, but he conceived your miſcarriages had ſuſpended it, till he and you could accord, and freely meet againe at *London*.

Conſider ſeriouſly, whether you be a Parliament not to be ſcrupled at: How ridiculous a Body have you made the Lords Houſe, Firſt, by caſting out all the Biſhops, whoſe places there, were as ancient as Parliaments. Then by forcing away two parts of three of the whole Nobility, for you ſo openly countenanc'd the rabble that came downe to the Houſes, that the great *Adonibezer* (for he hath met with the Law of Retaliation now) Maſter *Hollis*, demanded the names of the non-concurring Lords at their owne Barre. And to the complying party then, but diſſenting ſince, what a third purge have you given! So as we juſtly look upon the remaining party now, as the Anatomie of the Houſe of Lords, and not the Body: But you meane to lay theſe *dry bones* in the earth ere long, leſt you would cloath them with more fleſh, as you have done your ſelves; for we are ſure you have an equall power to create Lords, as you have to ſend Writs for new Commiſſioners: Your own houſe had been the like *Skeleton*, had you not aſſumed that ſupernaturall power of creating your ſelves. Were you not palſie ſtruck at one time, and loſt the right ſide of your body, 200. of the ableſt in underſtanding and fortune, that went to the King, or to their own homes to ſerve him? How many ſince are dead? And how many have you ſince purged out? Nay how feeble a Body doe you yet declare to the world you are? Was it not fit the other day to demand ſixty more? The Houſe of Lords

may

may be loſt before they be of one conſent, for among the few now remaining, we know (to their honour be it ſpoken, and this is the reaſon you deſire not their concurrence in printing your Declaration) there were ſome proteſted againſt theſe preſent Votes. This new method of creating your ſelves, leaves a power in you to reduce all to One Obedience: For he that diſſents, ſhall find he holds his gainfull Members place, but during pleaſure.

And doe you think now you are a fit Body to lay by a King, and change ſo ancient a Government? What will be thought of this Nation, among other Nations? Doe you ſee in us, what *Ceſar* ſaw in *Rome, A people borne for ſervitude?*

And after all this greatneſſe in you, can you ſay the KING whom you have made *Ludibrium fortunæ*, makes you his ſport and ſcorne? Did you not, but the other day, ſhew him up and down, what a weak thing *Sampſon* was, when his haire was cut off? Our Inke chills when we write theſe ſufferings. *The Lord heare him in the day of his trouble.*

After all theſe Addreſſes, and Scornes you ſuffer from him, now you have received ſuch a *Denyall*, &c. can you beleeve we will ſay after you, *The Moone is made of a greene Cheeſe?* Why did you not print or relate the ſubſtance of his denyall? We have learn'd ſuch Termes of Art now, that we knowingly ſay, that you call an *Affirmative* a *Negative.*

Where are the great breaches of his *Coronation Oath* you complaine of? He hath ſworne to protect his people; and becauſe he will not give over his power to protect, to you, he is perjured. Hath he not all his life time been a vertuous, temperate Prince in his Perſon, an example to his Subjects in his daily Devotions? Did not you uſe to repreſent him as a weak man, whoſe wiſdome hath ſo convinc'd you, that you are now forced to ſay, He is an ill man? And why ſhould we beleeve you in other things, when you would have miſguided us in that particular?

Was the ſtrength of this Kingdom greater in any Princes Raign then it was in his? Was the wealth of it to be equalled in any former time? What did this Kingdome ever feele, untill it drew its owne ſword upon it ſelfe? When had it a learneder Clergie? notwithſtanding your *Century* of ill *Miniſters.* When graver

Judges? for they were queſtioned onely for opinions about publick Government, not bribery or oppreſſion in private Cauſes. And when the weakeſt of them would be an inſtrument to ſerve the preſent times, how hath he been cheriſht and kept in, as if it were of high merit to be able to ſwear a Major of *London*?

His Majeſties ſo much envied Favorites, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Earle of *Strafford*, of how publick complexions were they? how was it for His Honour, that both of them, in what concerned their Charge (though they had the envy of three Nations) by the Laws in being, were not condemnable, but that one by an extorted new Act, and the other by an unparalleld new Ordinance, were both put to death. Nor did His Majeſty farther interpoſe in ſaving of either, then that the Laws in being, might be their Judges, and not a provokt Party. When did ever His Navy and the Marchants Ships appear at Sea, as in His time? When did learning and all Sciences ſo encreaſe? When did ſtrangers ſee more glory in any Nation they found in His Court? When was the peace of this Kingdome ſo ſecured as it was by His hopefull numerous Iſſue? When did every man ſit more peaceably under his own vine? and who had a ſuit with Him that had not a faire triall in the ordinary Courts of Juſtice?

You had moſt ſpeculative, and ſome reall objections againſt His Government, and was there ever King or State againſt whom ſome known grievances might not be objected? who can read *Leiceſter's* and *Eſſex's* Common-wealth, and not think Q. *Elizabeth* only happy? Her Parliament wrote it not, otherwiſe She that is ſo famous, had had as much dirt caſt in Her face, as this Declaration would beſpartle the King with. Was there ever time ſo glorious as *Solomons*? (which Greatneſſe, holy Writ commends) and yet he is no ſooner dead, but his Son is told, *Your Fathers yoke was heavy*. And *Aſa* recorded a King like *David*, *after Gods heart*, yet ſaies the Text, *ſome of the people were oppreſt in his time*. In a word, Its *murmuring* makes us die in the wilderneſſe.

The *pacification* with *Scotland*, was not firſt broke on the Kings part: That buſineſſe was cleared, and is by Act commanded to oblivion. In which Act we may perceive, it was not the Scots ſtrength,

ſtrength, but the Engliſh intelligence, muzled up our Army, and brought in theirs: for therein is carefull proviſion made for the Engliſh as well as the Scots that were in that deſigne: and yet whilſt theſe men are thus ſecured, His Majeſties generall pardon to us, His Subjects, was refuſed.

But, as if the King were to be judged out of His own mouth, This deſtructive maxime he is ſaid to hold, *He owes an account of His Actions to none but God alone*, and *that the Houſes of Parliament joynt or ſeparate have no power either to make, or declare any Law.*

This maxime, though made one in your diſcourſe, yet contains two Propoſitions in it ſelf. And ſure that which muſt be inſinuated of ſo great danger is, firſt, That the King owes an account of his Actions to none but God alone. If this which is ſet forth as a poyſon be an antidote, what ſhall we think of you *Abſoloms*, that are the only diſpenſers of Juſtice?

Firſt, you ſee the King doth not look upon Himſelfe as a *Leviathan* ſent into this world to take his paſtime, He acknowledges he owes an Account, and to whom? *to God.* Suppoſe we, or any of us ſhould ſay, we owe no account of our Actions to any inferior Court, but to the higheſt Court of Parliament, might we therefore live as we liſt? Is not a ſupream Court moſt commonly the moſt diſcerning, and the ſevereſt? Think you that God will wink more at his tyranny then you? ſurely no. This peradventure may happen, he will eſteem that good government, which you brand to the people for tyranny, but the King knows (and it is evident he is knowing in Religion) that if *Moſes* joyne in the murmure, *Moſes* ſhall die likewiſe in the wilderneſſe, though the people cannot queſtion him. Doe not you that hold another opinion ſubvert the order of God in government? Doth not he or his Chriſt under him claime the Dominion of the Earth, and make Princes but his Deputies, ſtyling himſelf *King of Kings*; and therefore reſerves the Kings heart in his own hands to turn it as he pleaſe, that is, to mercy when a people are fit for it; and judgement, when they are not? The Texts are numerous in this point. We find when he gave the king a law, *Deut.* 17. It's a very ſtrict one, to keep him in bounds; But when he gave the people a law how to obey their kings, 1 *Sam.* 8. there might ſeem a very tyrannicall

Prero-

Prerogative in the Prince. Which rightly understood belongs not to the Princes government, but is a Rule to the peoples obedience. Even in such cases to have no other help, but to cry to him.

We know how we have been indeavoured to be poysoned with the text concerning *Saul*, *I gave them a King in my fury*, but we have learnt to understand this personally of reprobate *Saul*, not the Kingly office, and that not from Court Divines, but our good Bible, for there we finde that long before *Saul*, God promised *Abraham*, *that of him should come Kings of people*: He enabled *Jacob* at his death to foretell *the Scepter should not depart from Judah*. And (as we have observed before) by the pen of *Moses*, he gave a very strict law to Kings long before there were any: All this evidences, this government he promised as a blessing. It is true, it was long before he erected it (because there are many reasons why he ruled that stiffe-necked people himselfe) and then it was the manner of the peoples asking displeased him. But when he had erected it, he never changed it, but branded those with the names of the sons of *Belial*, who cried *how shall this man save us?* which is in a manner to say, as you doe, *We will make no addresses to the King*, for they went not home with him. He shewed in *David* that *none could touch the Lords Anointed* (though then rejected) *and be guiltlesse*. He sent his only Son into the world, to whom after his ascention, he committed all dominion, who (though free as he was his Son, in whom all power resided) yet paid tribute, for himselfe and Apostle: And his Apostles after him, enjoyne (what he practiced) *every soul to be obedient to them, as to the Supreame*, and with the fear of God, conjoyne the duty of honouring the King, who command us to *pray* for Kings, expressing the fruit of that petition, *That we might lead a quiet and godly life*. And why all this if Kings were not only accountable to him? What need we pray for a good, if we may set by an ill King, when we please, why not rather an advice? he is by me set over you for your good, when you finde him not so, take another.

No, the Theologicall conclusion is, *By me Kings reigne*, and to me for a good or against an ill King, Cry, &c. A new doctrine in

in this point is another Gospell which we are not to believe, though a new enlightned Angell preach it.

When the word of God saies this & much more: What are the words of the Law of the Land? for we hearken much thereunto: They are, *The King cannot doe wrong* What hath been the Custome; the best Interpreter of these words? (for our meaning is not to hold, *Kings cannot erre*, but *are not to be questioned*) It hath been, *call His Judges and Officers to an account*, punish them, *but let the Kings honour be sacred.* See how well this complies with divine law, and what wisdome is contained in it, *for where Kings may be invaded by people, there is seldome peace*; It's more for the peace of the people, then the indemnity of the King, *God makes Princes only accountable to himself.*

But the objection is, *Princes will protect their Officers.* Reason it is, they should, *from irregular proceedings, or the fury of the people*, but seldome will they doe it from the known Laws; and the wisdome of any Court is very mean, that cannot find a temper to withdraw the King from a single person, or such a person from waies that are publick grievances; but surely, those grievances by one mans power, shall not be so great, as the mischiefs of a *Civil war* are destructive.

And by this time we think there is enough said to show there is no such danger in this maxime, but that it is true Divinity, That *God hath given commission to some Subjects to inform Princes*, but to none, *to resist them.*

The next proposition is, The King holds, *That the Houses of Parliament, joynt, or separate, have no power either to make, or declare a Law.*

Here is no great matter in this, if He were mistaken; for by this He attributes not a power to Himself to make or declare Laws *ad libitum*, but His meaning is evident, That *His consent is necessary.* Let Judge *Jenkins* and Master *Speaker* argue this. Sure we are, it never was till this Parliament, a law to bind the Subject generally, but with the Royall assent. So in making laws the case will be evident; and why not the same in declaring Lawes? (by which, we conceive you mean, *the declaring the sense of the law*) for it stands with no reason since the meaning of the law is the life of the Law, that the King, as is said of the earthly Father, should beget the body; and you the god almightyes to infuse

the ſoul; for in this generation, they that are neceſſary to make it a Law, (that is, both you and he) are neceſſary to expound it. And therefore the King hath His Judges and Councell to aſſiſt Him. Since it hath been otherwiſe, and that your expoſition was ſingle, and runs againſt former practice; how miſerable have we been? You by Acts this Parliament in limiting the Councell Table, provided, none of us, in our perſons ſhould be committed, but the cauſe expreſt in the Warrant, that ſo we might demand *Habeas Corpus*, and plead to it. And yet how many of us have, and how are we all ſubject to any of your Committees? And no reaſon given; for being your Act, You ſay, no inferiour Court can take cognizance of it, or relieve us: In our Eſtates, beſides *Magna Charta*, what proviſion made you this Parliament, we ſhould not be taxt without conſent in Parliament? And yet you exclude the King; to whom only we were wont before to give, and whoſe Predeceſſours have thought fit to be ſo gratious to ſubjects, as ſometimes to refuſe Subſidies. And have we not ſince this new Doctrin, paid more in one ſeven years, then we were heretofore taxt in hundreds? Beſides, what liberty have Souldiers on every ſlight cauſe to plunder? When the King raiſed money, as we conceive illegally, He diſtrained only for the value, left the remainder in the Sheriffes hands, and gave us leave in a Court of Juſtice to implead him. Now if we refuſe but 5. ſ. the name of a Malignant makes us liable to the plunder of 500. l. or the Sequeſtration of our whole Eſtates, and all Courts ſhut up againſt us.

A woefull change.

To the confiſcation of our whole eſtates, how many new Treaſons are created (which before being bounded in knowne particulars, and ſuch as few men were apt to attempt) was the great pillar of liberty; for what more deadneth induſtry in a Commonwealth, or takes off from the joy of life, then that a man or his poſterity, upon every treſpaſſe, may have it voted a Treaſon, and ſo forfeit all his and his Anceſtours Inheritance? Had *Jezabel* known this way, ſhe needed not have ſuborned witneſſes, that *Ahab* blaſphemed: It might have been called Treaſon; he would not ſell his Inheritance to the King, when he was offered more for it then it was worth. It had been enough to ſay, he was ill affected to the State.

And for our lives, in what caſe are they? Why? A new Treaſon

ſon forfeits both life and Eſtate. In one of your Acts, this Parliament, you ſay, we ought not to be preſt: And yet with violence we have been hurryed to your Armies, ſo to our deaths.

Nay, theſe four laſt neceſſary Bils; doe not they ſubject our Perſons and Eſtates wholy to you? Did not the King in His Anſwer obſerve this? So as we may juſtly ſay, the King is not a Priſoner for Himſelf, but becauſe He will not ſubject us to your free diſpoſall. What Councels of War have we been called to? What new Ordinances are we ſubject to, if we doe but cenſure your proceedings?

Thus you ſee how we thrive under your Declaration of Lawes: And doe you not aſſume power to diſpenſe with Lawes as you pleaſe? Did you not make a Law, who ever received Cuſtomes or Merchandize, when not granted by an Act, ſhould incur a Premunire? And yet a Warrant from you, preſently diſpenſes with the penalty of this Act. Is not this to lord it over your Brethren? to keep your ſelves from accounting to any but God? And aſſuming ſingly, power to make and declare Lawes; and yet quarrelling the King for the ſame? Are we the wicked you uſe thus? Be it granted, we, or ſome of us are ſo: May not an unjuſt man have a juſt poſſeſſion? If none have a right to the Creature but you, that ſuppoſe your ſelves to belong to God; how will you know, when you doe a brother an injury? *The juſt man falls from his righteouſneſſe*: And *Saul* to day becomes *Paul* to morrow: The Theif of the Croſſe, lived a Theif, in the hour of death was declared a Saint. What would you have done with his Eſtate during his life? You'l ſay, this poſition is not in your Declaration, nor charged on the King, but we mention it, becauſe ſuch phantaſtick opinions as theſe, encourage many of you to obſerve no Law towards your Brethren: And make others think, all you do is right.

We would not make our Anſwer ſeem to you a new *Pragmaticus*, as your Declaration did to us a new *Britanicus* againſt the King. We call God to witneſſe with ſorrow, we divulge our Condition, and your proceedings: And doe look upon you, as Inſtruments God uſes to manifeſt our Chriſtian patience; nay, if there be occaſion of Martyrdome, for our King and Laws, We know ſo much ill by our ſelves, that we believe, God uſes the rigor of your waies, to reclaim us from the evill of ours: We pray God forgive you, and convert us.

And so we come to your great Charge concerning King *James* his Death, and will be short in all the rest, because we have dwelt so long on these few particulars.

We will take no great pains to wipe off this. It is like most of the rest, a vizard put upon the King, to make Him look ugly, not a naturall deformity in His countenance, or mind.

Observe what was charged upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, That *he*, contrary to his duty, *laid a Playster, and gave King* James *a Drink when he was sick of His Ague, though the sworne Physitians had forbidden any to presume to give the King any thing without their directions, &c.* And what doth this amount to against the Duke? *It is an Act of transcendent presumption, and of dangerous consequence.* In this Charge against the Duke, (as you would insinuate, for you think it too grosse to say it) you would wound the King. Why did you not print the Examinations you have on this businesse, of the sworn Physitians you speak of, and of the Apothecary that made and tempered this Playster and Drink? And the story how the same Playster and Drink had cured a great man a little before, and King *James* impatient of pain, resolved to make triall of it? What's the summe of all? Physitians and Apothecaries knew all the Ingredients, and they good in themselves, (but peradventure, improper for his age.) The dead Kings body opened, and found fair and clear: The present King had no hand in the applying it to His Father: against the Duke, who did all this, it's but a transcendent Act of presumption, and yet it must be now insinuated as *murder*, and patricide in King *Charls*.

We say, *the Lord rebuke you!*

Why did not this King then, say you, *let the Duke come to his triall?* for this is all is charged on him; the reason is obvious, The leading men of that Parliament resolved to separate the Duke from the King, An Act of Presumption, it was very like, if they had prosecuted it, would have past against the Duke. Then for the King to have retained him after such a censure, it relating to his Fathers death, it would have made greater noise then upon a bare Charge: And the King finding it only an Act of policy to remove his Favorite, He expresst an Act of power in preserving him from his adversaries.

We doe not approve the Kings imprisoning Sir *Dudley Diggs* and Sir *John Elliot*, nor His raising Monies by Privy Seales, Monopolies

polies, or the *compendium* of ſlavery, Ship money, nor the Oaths *Ex Officio*, *&c.* We pleaſe not our ſelves in recriminating, we ſuffer on both ſides, yet we could ſay 100 Priſoners have bin for one ſince, worſe uſage, Perſons of quality kept on ſhip-boord, propoſed to be carried to the Iſlands; nay, to be ſold to the Turks, Mens Books of their Eſtates, their Cabinets of their ſecreteſt Papers; nay, their very defences when they were charged for their Lives, have been before triall taken from them. What Oathes have been impoſed on the Subject? what Loanes extorted? and what Cuſtomes continued and increaſt? And after all, what an Epitome have we of ſlavery, *Exciſe* on all we eat, drink, or weare? we will leave off this unpleaſing ſubject with one of our Anceſtors Proverbs, *Ill may the kettle call the pot burn-taile.*

Ah! but the *Rochellers* were betrayed. We apprehend they were ſo really aided, That Cardinall *de Richelieu* never forgot it, till his ingenuous revengefull nature, had a conſiderable thread clean through the loome of the preſent diſturbances of *England*. Sure you cannot forget how the Kings moſt private Letters publiſhed by your ſelves, manifeſt Him a ſound Proteſtant. It was no ill will to Religion then, It's a forrain Action, and a forrain War, and by the Law and Statutes of the Land, *Peace and War only belong to the King*. So as what He did, He might do lawfully; and whether juſtly in reſpect of His own conſcience, we make as little doubt: Give Him but leave to anſwer your Declaration.

The bringing up the Army, The Popes Nuntio to the Queen, and Her Agent there, (whom you call the Kings) *The buſineſſe of Cockram*, not fit to be rakt in, have all had known Anſwers. Examine your ſelves ſtrictly, whether you examined no body about Queen *Anne*. But let it die in ſilence, as fit for you to diſavow, it is ſo ſlanderous; Now beſides ſome few Charges like theſe which you uſe as the boies, play, when they cry *more ſacks to the mill*, there is little of moment behind but the Iriſh buſineſſe, and that ſeems a heavy charge, and yet hath not one well-grounded probability to make it good.

That *His Majeſty perceived the hard conditions He was like to undergo both with Engliſh and Scots is not to be doubted, And that the Iriſh being His Subjects* and peradventure *profeſſing loyalty, &c. He was glad before the Rebellion* (as you ſay) *by the Lord* Dillon *to give*

them ſome countenance, nay *to make complaints of proceedings here*; But for this (if admitted) to infer His Majeſty in *Scotland* (a place he was well watcht in) ſhould under the Great Seale there, give Commiſſion to the Iriſh to rebell, and yet none of the Scots diſcover it, Nor no body but one unknown man, bring a Copy, and ſwear he ſaw the originall Commiſſion it ſelf, is ſo beyond belief, it may be a Popiſh Legend. How eaſie is it for the Rebels to make a Seale of their owne, and call it the Great Seale, to deceive their Party? How eaſie for one man to miſtake, or to be ſent up to you ſuborned? You know this amounts to neither proof nor probability in Law. What great proof is there in this other Charge? *The Rebels ſwore to maintain the Kings Prerogative, & againſt the Puritanes of England*, might it not be thought fit there, as here, to cry for a time, *King and Parliament*? have not you, and may not they, forget it? ſwearing to Him, argues not, but both may at laſt ſay, *We will make no further Addreſſes*: The firſt part of the Oath was *duty*, and ſo *lawfull*; The other part was a *quarrel with you*. The Lord of *Muskery* might in a Letter of the Kings to the Earle of *Ormond* have thanks, for what he profeſt (at leaſt, whilſt he was at *Oxford*) to be a means to reduce his Country-men to their Allegiance, and yet this not infer at firſt was encouraged to Rebell; No, Princes that are forced to Treat with Rebels muſt give them thanks, nay rewards. And would both thoſe and *perſonall* ſecurity might ſerve, that ſo that poor Kingdome might find ſome reſt. Oh! but the Arch-biſhop had notice there was intended a Maſſacre, and that a Royall Perſon had a hand in it. If ſome body might let it be known before acted, why was it not ſo believed, as to be prevented by thoſe in Authority there? The Royall hand may more properly relate to the Pope, then King or Queen, for he is a ſoveraign Prince, as well as a Prelate. Queen-Mothers ſervant and *Philelme O Neale, &c.* they ſpeak of Maſſacres at *London*, and the Tower to be ſeized, and the late Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* to be releaſt, &c. Nay, now you want matter, when Newſes go for proofs, What diſcourſes have both ſides had ſince theſe times? Would to God our Proteſtant brethren in *Ireland* had had as little cauſe to have feared them, as we had at *London*. We are of opinion if His Majeſties honour had been kept up in this Kingdome, and leſſe

evidences

evidences given to the Iriſh of ſome ill covetous intentions on them, their wickedneſſes had not been ſo ſodain. We doubt not God will revenge the innocent blood they have ſpilt. But the moſt violent probability which almoſt amounts to a proof is, *The Kings unwillingneſs to proclaime the Iriſh Rebels, & that but* 40 *Proclamations when it was done, were permitted to be printed*; & yet you that lay this ſo home, know, *the King did none of this out of backwardneſſe, but upon advice of his Lord Juſtices of* Ireland, *there being then a hope to ſeparate thoſe of the Engliſh pale, from thoſe of the native Iriſh.*

It is likely the King had no mind, the Army raiſed by the Earl of *Strafford* ſhould be disbanded; There are none of us that find our ſelves ill uſed, would lay aſide all means of ſtrengthning our ſelves. Conſider not every Action of the Kings, but conſider His neceſſity, His provocation; *To eſcape, you'l have David playing the mad man, and Abraham indangering his Wives chaſtity, rather then his own life.*

The Lord *Digby's* withdrawing himſelf was never to avoid a legall triall (for thereunto he offered himſelf and all the Kings Adherents ever) but not to fall under the Arbitrary Cenſure of his provok'd Judges.

That the Lo: Newcaſtle *and Col:* Leg *attempted* Newcaſtle *and* Hull, *both at that time His Majeſties Towns, and in them His Majeſties Magazines of Arms*, ſurely was very becoming. It was a fault in them that put them to a neceſſity of ſurprizing that, which having His Majeſties Commiſſion for, they ought quietly to have poſſeſt. And had *Hull* rendred it ſelf to His Majeſties hand, we doubt much whether you would have been ſo backward to have hearkned to peace, for it was nothing but your deſpiſing His Maj. weaknes made you ſo unreaſonable. Even this conſideration might make His Maj. as early as He could prepare Arms, when you had ſeized all His firſt, becauſe, by the reputation of allies abroad, and force at home, he might reduce you to the *equaller conditions of peace.*

You ſmile your ſelves when you talk of our danger by the Spaniſh Fleet, for had His Maj. ſhips at the firſt coming into His Ports joyned with the Spaniſh, our neighbours the Hollanders had had an ill bargain; Nay, he was ſo far from an Intelligence that he ſufferd the greateſt affront in his own Harbors, that *England* received a long time, not for want of ſtrength.

And

And you'l give us leave to ſmile, when you mention King *James* as of bleſſed memory: And lay that Charge upon His Son, the preſent King, in the Matches with *Spain* and *France*; which were both acted by His Fathers directions: But the former courſe is inverted. Dead Kings are flattered, and living ſlandered.

Thus you ſee, you have endeavoured to make the King the foyle, that ſhould ſet off your brightneſſe, and yet you prove, but the cloud, that darkens His light. God in his good time will deliver him from the ſtrivings of his people. We will follow him whom God hath ſet over us. We confeſſe you have deceitfully got into your hand that power, that you may make his life outwardly unhappy, and wound us in Him, but His vertue will make Him to poſterity appear the glorious Prince you promiſed to make Him.

You Act for us, let us therefore counſell you ſpeedily to retract your Votes; think not debaucht and foul mouthed reaſoning, ſhall render us a Conquered people; on whom you may impoſe what new Lawes you pleaſe: And for your ſecurities, (which the King ſo plentifully offers) that we will live under a military Government, & a perpetual Parl: Why did the Army think the laſt ſo great a ſlavery on us, if a period was not put to it? becauſe they have now converted it; muſt they now conquer us by it? The *Engliſh blood* wil boyl at it; you ſee we have too general an air of your buſineſſe, groſly to be deceived; though you make us ſee your own vertues, and others faults through multiplying-glaſſes. We hartily wiſh you ſecure nay, to enjoy what you have treaſured; but we fear your hopes, by future government are ſo high, you'l adventure your owne ruine and our peace; rather then be brought back within your juſt bounds: We fear this, becauſe you have continued theſe breaches, you might ſo well have made up; you endeavour ſtill to ſeperate, whom God hath conjoyned, our King, and us, His Subjects. But know, even his affliction hath ſhewed us ſo many Chriſtian vertues in Him, that we interpoſe our cryes, nay, (if you repreſent us) our authorities. *Give Him a Perſonall Treaty*, for *Nolumus vos regnare*, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, *Caput legis eſt Rex*. We will not have you raigne over us, we will not have the Laws of England changed. The head of the Law is the King.

WHOM GOD SAVE.

A LIVELY

CHARACTER

OF HIS

MAIESTIES

WISDOME,

In his last answer to the Propositions of both Kingdomes presented to him at *Hampton*.

COVRT.

As it was set forth in a way of discourse by Letter to a person of honour in this Kingdome.

Printed in the yeare. 1647.